Lock Box 31.

## COMMUNICATIONS.

Education Among the Freedmen.

BY J. W. ALVORD.

We might here review this whole work in its various stages from the first. It bears constant evidence of remarkale zeal, striking incident, and providential favor; above all, of rapid attainment. But this review was substantially given in the report of January last, and the history of the various benevolent societies aiding us was inserted in the report of July.

Since that time the same encouraging indi cations appear, with continued steady progress, and the entire results achieved during the past three years have, as we hope, given general satisfaction to the Government, and certainly bave surprised even the warmest friends of the freedmen.

The schools during the three months of summer had the usual vacation, but a larger number were continued during the warm season than ever before. In Louisiana, 178 schools, with 6.026 pupils, continued through July, 24 of them being new schools. The superintendent in Mississippi made special effort to go through the hot weather with all schools located in healthy portions of the State, and with the following result: 75 day schools, only three of which were supported by benevolent associations, average attendance of pupils, 3,500, and 47 Sabbath schools, with an average of 3,800 pupils. In Kentucky, 30 schools were continued through August, with 1,521 pupils.

The great desire to learn, and the willingness to teach, especially on the part of those whose homes are in the South, made it easy to go directly on whenever funds were sufficient. We heartily encouraged this in all such cases. Large numbers of our pupils are subject to debasing out-door and home influences, and are sure to lose much of what they have gained in term time during these long vacations. However it may be with other schools, it is far better to keep this class of children constantly at study and under the daily uninterrupted influence of their teachers.

The average attendance of pupils enrolled in the schools regularly reported has been 61,370, throughout the Northern States; over 56 per cent. have been always present, and 53 per cent. always punctual. Three hundred and seventeen of the schools are graded in accordance with the best modern system. There is also thorough classification in each achool, bringing pupils of similar attainments under the same instruction.

Twenty-six thousand two hundred and nine ty-three pupils (or their parents) have paid tuition. This has often been done out of extreme poverty. The whole amount thus paid has been \$57,741.98. Twelve thousand one hundred and seventy-five are adults, indicating that the desire to learn is not confined to chil-

It appears that of the 80,686 pupils in the day and night schools regularly reported, 75,862 had been slaves before the late war.

There are 27 normal schools, with 1,790 pupils -most of whom are preparing themselves for teachers. Of the teachers now employed in day and night schools of all kinds 914 are

The industrial schools are not so generally in operation during the first six months of the year, but it appears that 18 of these, with 645 pupils, had commenced before the 1st of Janu-

The desire for knowledge, so universal among the freedmen, needs intelligent direction. Learning in their case is a novelty, and with of the black man are to his own people. many its idea excites only an undefined ambicially is there a failure to appreciate the wide lated by the requirements of society. organic plans by which a whole community are

to be educated. practical hints, therefore, mainly to those accordingly. freedmen who are not acquainted with the routine of schools, may be allowed.

bensive uniting of the whole race in a common claimed as a birth-right. blessing, and that their country and Governgeneral endowment. Individuals alone, when estimation, and deprive him of "one-half of social and political; at least distinctions in word, and "Liberty," his rallying cry. this privilege, favoring caste and giving power to the few, would produce evils second only to slavery itself. They should likewise aim to become a moral, virtuous, and Christian people. Schools, therefore, should exist by a comprehensive and universal effort, an effort in which that people. the freedmen, one and all, are heartily to co-

lated districts, if with pupils sufficient for a rights were abrogated, when they were preschool, should be thoroughly aroused. Public vented from competing for the Presidency; berespective circles to enlighten the freedmen on the right to hold office.

District the country into portions sufficient for schools of from thirty to fifty pupils each. own convenience:

Organize the school society in the usual method of voluntary associations, with an ex- In Great Britain, Magna Charta made every the law of supply and demand." ecutive committee and by-laws:

house. This can often be done by the people required to vote and hold office. But in Amerion the ground, especially if aided by their ca, exceptions were made to one class or race friends. For a time help can be procured from of the inhabitants, who were denied both the the Freedmen's Bureau, and ere long the State right of suffrage and the right to hold office. will expect to be called upon. It even now, in This caused much confusion and frequent

Be sure to obtain a teacher of suitable quali- were unjust. fications, correct morals, "apt to teach" and In England and the United States, as in govern, and of thorough literary attainments. France, the civil should have included the po-Ample provision for the support of this teacher litical rights of the whole people. should be made. Tuition, to a certain extent, But an established peerage, orders of nobiliteacher should also be provided.

, and how they may and head to be



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pupils is the first step. This will be difficult at France. the commencement, as there will be variety of character and every stage of advancement, but it must be resolutely undertaken and ac-

Fixed rules of order are indispensible; not too many nor too minute. Much can be left to daily and verbal instruction. Personal authority of the teacher is a first law, paternal and kind, and yet to be insisted on.

complished, as far as possible.

Every day is to have its routine; each recitation or exercise its time and place; recesses and outdoor recreation organized with system; and punctuality as to all these regulations must be required. If variation from the prescribed order is called for by interposing circumstances, exceptions can be made, clearly defined as exceptions, and thus the rule, even when set aside, will be the more firmly estab-

Corporal punishment may be resorted to in case of the incorrigible, but as frequently as due regard to authority will admit. The freedmen and their children have been accustomed | ciety. to harsh treatment. Let kindness and an appeal to the moral sentiments in all cases secure obedience if possible.

A register is to be kept, full and complete, not only in its first entries, but in its footings. At any time the true condition of the school can then be seen at a glance. This book, however, is quite useless unless accurately

At the close of each term a public examination is desirable, to which parents and friends should be invited, and where will be given an exhibition of all actual knowledge pupils have acquired. Such an exercise, anticipated and passed through, is strongly stimulating to the schools and a most satisfactory event to its

It should not be forgotten that correct general habits must be inculcated. Language, temper, social intercourse, conduct in the street or at home, are all to be noted and corrected. Great care and some labor will be required to accomplish this effectually.

Above all, let there be moral training, vir tuous principles, and noble aspirations inculcated in school and out, as bringing their own constant reward; while every mean, low passion or deed is to be frowned upon as debasing and inflicting only pain. Duty is to be done, and each triumph over difficulty, in its doing is to be recorded as a worthy victory. Such moral training, only, will give true character. Especially should pupils be taught that de calogue of higher and more sacred duties to Him who is their Creator, Redeemer, and final Judge.

These hints are commended to all, especially the freedmen, who are inquiring how schools for their children can be started and carried on successfully. We are sure that if the above line of effort is substantially followed; there will be in no case any serious failure. We hope that attention will not have been called to this subject in vain, and that added to what is now done, the land will be filled with schools. the pride of the people and of the State pro-

## Civil Rights.

BY M. R. DELANY.

Every member of a body politic has duties and obligations to perform, which are binding according to his relative position in society.

His general obligations are to the Nation, particular obligations to the province, district, or State, (as one of the United States,) and special obligations to those with whom he is identified or classified, as German, French, Jew. Scotch, Italian, Irish, Spanish, or English. Here, in America, the special obligations

Civil rights imply all the privileges and ention. The means and necessary amount of joyments known to the body politic. These effort to acquire it are not understood; espe- rights are not natural, but conditional regu-

The general requirements of society, are regulated by national obligations, or the obli-This is not so strange with a people whose gations of State. A nation being bound to entire histery has been one of ignorace, and protect itself and preserve its own existence, who now raddenly approach the light. A few regulates the individual, and governs society

In France, Civil and Political rights are one and the same-inseparable-and based upon This whole freed population should know that | natural rights. The right to freedom carries | their education is to be effected by a compre- with it every other right; and suffrage is

To deny to the Frenchman any privilege in ment now demand of them intelligence as a the body politic, is to degrade him in his own educated, may be but an element of danger, his manhood." "Freedom," is his watch-

In France, Government is always regarded as despotic, where suffrage is curtailed; and indeed, the Chamber of Deputies-Representatives of the people-and the right to choose them, is as old as the advanced civilization of

It was seen that Louis Napoleon, as the first step in his accession to power, in 1851, took the Every neighborhood, even in sparsely popu- vote of the people. It is true that their civil men, preucies and teachers in every part of cause in France, as the civil and political are the South, should act vigorously within their inseparable, the right to vote carries with it,

the labors of special school agents. Successive concession, even by Napoleon III., to those ited, even among those to whom it has directly steps in organizing might then be suggested, great and inherent rights, as claimed by the appealed. Ask any man, outside of the labor-

In England and the United States, civil and These might be called school districts, and the with them different degrees of privileges. A people therein a school society. Cities and man might have the privilege of voting and those things." Such replies would not be large towns can modify the plan to snit their not the right to hold office; or, in other words, given, if the truth was known, that "there is hardest in life, for men to learn, is to know of course, the legislation of the Throckmorhave the right of suffrage, and not be eligible nothing more unsound, or more atrocious, than

person equal before the law; but in the politi-Secure the building or renting of a school- cal regulations, a property qualification was

some cases, is proffering its substantial aid. embarrassment in the administration of laws, Excellent plans for school-houses are furnished in consequence of the ambiguity of their congratuitously by this educational department: structions, which were as erroneous as they

can be arranged to meet the expenditure ; pu- ty, and primogeniture, or land privileges, as the pils, if able, should always be required to pay. basis of the United Kingdom of England, Scot-A convenient and comfortable home for the land and Ireland, positively prohibited these enjoyments to the lower classes, in the first case: Secure the constant and punctual attendance and the National Compact, the basis of the of pupils; little can otherwise be accomplished. American Union, recognizing and permitting Text-books are to be carefully selected, and the the existence of slavery and a privileged class fused. If we consider the action of Congress the people, and entering the ranks as faithful time 16 sections per mile, upon the same terms, And further, we shall endeavor to show before possession of them by every pupil absolutely in the whites, in the second case, prevented an on the eight-hour law, we find a majority of the and earnest workers for the common good, requiring the companies to alienate the lands

As a nation is bound to protect itself, to have Opposition to the enforcement of such a law conceded equal privileges to the common people, was to be expected; when it came, and the in Great Britain, would have destroyed the Executive and Cabinet were shown the relation foundation of their Government as then con- of the law to the great underlying questions of structed; and to have conceded civil rights to labor and capital, how soon the proclamation the blacks, in the United States, must have in of the President followed!

as slavery was the basis of the Union.

war, slavery has become extinct, the blacks tablishing ten hours enfranchised, and the civil and political rights of the people, acknowledged.

ual, being according to his relative position in society, previous to emancipation and our enfranchisement, we had few or no obligations, because few or no responsible positions in so-But now, having all the rights and privileges. opponents.

we also have all the responsibilities belonging to society. Hence, the necessity of possessing such information, and having such qualifica-

Our new political element, we are in hopes, will not fail to profit by these elementary les-

Party in the Interest of Labor?

sons in national polity.

BY EDWARD H. ROGERS.

This is a question of great importance. The writer of this article-a workingman, who had experience in advocating the claims of labor—has been obliged to answer it in the negative. A few reasons for this conclusion will

In the first place, facts have demonstrated that workingmen will not contribute the funds necessary for party purposes. The writer's observation has included four large constituencies, all of which have proved the truth of this assertion. In one case where one hundred and fifty dollars was advanced on a notefor election purposes—the holder was obliged to take legal measures to obtain his pay. Three workingmen, who had indorsed the note, were the losers.

In another place, a master-workman of liberal views was urged to accept a nomination; he refused, at first, on account of the expense; an organization of labor pledged themselves to furnish the funds, but failed to redeem their promise. Their candidate was not only defeated, but found himself in arrears to the amount of two hundred dollars.

In instances which occurred in other localities, it has uniformly happened that the few who were willing to take the responsibility have been left without means to meet liabilities incurred for the common good.

It is useless to criticise harshly this state of things. Inspired by patriotism, laboring men will die for their country; moved by social impulse, they will watch with the sick, or expose themselves to danger in saving life or property : but the voluntary contribution of money, in the continuous and liberal manner requisite for a sustained political effort, requires a development which would be vain to expect under present conditions.

It follows, as a matter of course, that labor falls an easy prey to any clique, which, for selfish motives, is ready to furnish the funds to influence votes. It has not ceased to be true, that "the borrower is servant to the lender."

There is little room to doubt that this weak ness in their position will render it impossible for the leaders in the political movement of labor to preserve their independence.

Those who quote the success of the anti slavery question in politics, forget, or are unaware, that the workingmen organized and in dependent political party ten years before the abolitionists. The effort was a failure. A State Labor Ticket was nominated as early as 1834. The papers of the day give evidence of the validity of the movement; yet it made little or no impression, and soon became merged in

the Democratic party. The cruelties of slavery were so obvious as to shock the feelings of all. This was a great advantage in an appeal to the people. A whole generation had heard the question debated for a quarter of a centuary. The ranks of the abolitionists included men of ample means, and the highest culture. They spent money freely in urging their views; it made but little difference to them in this respect when they entered

The burdens which it is proposed to relieve by forming a Labor Party are of such a nature as to produce their evil effects unnoticed, except as they develop broadly in the depressed condition of the masses.

The community are very ignorant of the de fects of our industrial system. It is but six years since the movement of labor began. The this subject : to which might perhaps be added The action above alluded to simply shows a influence of the labor press has been very limng classes, for his views upon the questions which workingmen are interested; in more than political rights differ, and political rights carry nine cases out of ten, the answer will be, that the "laws of supply and demand settle all the maxim that labor is to be regulated upon

> This quotation is a recent utterance of one of the most distinguished statesmen of the Republican party. He does not stand alone many others, of the highest authority in State and national affairs, substantially unite with him in their wise forecast of the situation and needs of the working classes.

> The strength of the prohibitory element in action are as urgent with them as with us, but they wisely avoid the rupture of party ties.

In view of all these facts, is it well for workingmen to abandon the political friends who are doing all that can be done for them under They however put forth their claims, or what present circumstances? How inconsistent with they consider should constitute their claims, the gratitude we owe them, the acknowledg- and draw to their side a few advocates, and adments of which have a place among the proceedings of every labor organization through- and in the exercise of their prerogative, repuout the land!

reformers, that all our requests had been re- stead of gracefully acquiescing in the will of

As to internal organization, classification of rights, as belonging to the whole people, as in the Senate following so soon, that they can hardly be said to have delayed the result.

like manner endangered the National Compact, Compare this prompt action, and its freedom from unworthy motives, with the course of the But the people of Great Britain are free, and British Government under similar circumtheir system of government but a matter of stances. The English operatives pleaded in choice and time, which may be modified in its vain for relief from excessive toil; it was decontinual progress, with satisfaction to the en- layed until years after American workmen had and exert an influence for their party, And, in the United States, by the late civil obtained from Martin Van Buren his order es-

A great contest was going on in England at this time, between the landholders and the The duties and obligations of every individ- manufacturers, in reference to removing the duty on food. The manufacturers triumphed the corn laws were repealed. The landholders were still powerful; moved by the most passionate feelings, they immediately passed the ten-hour bill, to revenge themselves upon their

The charge that it was sectional was the heaviest burden that the Republican party bore. The readiest assault upon the labor movement. tions, as to fit us for the high, responsible, and and the one hardest to meet, is, that it arrays arduous duties of the new life, into which we classes against each other. This tendency will be much greater in politics. A healthful agi-We must possess attainments equal to the tation of a social character will go far toward requirements of the positions we expect to oc- avoiding this objection, by educating all intercupy. Otherwise, we have no right to expect ests of society toward those practical measures

which the times may require. We have not room to do more than allude to the relation of the labor party to the national debt. It must not be forgotten that the freedmen are to play an important part in the po-Is it Expedient to Form a Political litical action of the future. Will they forget to subvert our liberties with that contempt, and that the debt has very definite relations to their liberation? Will they join a party which urges its payment in depreciated paper? If such a party makes any show of success, will they not hear enough of exultation among their rebel neighbors to convince them on which side the truth lies, and also that it is for their interest to sustain the Government credit?

> We believe, and we think the majority of workingmen are on our side, that any party which proposes a violation of the national faith in this respect will find itself inwardly demoralized in its first great struggle. This is the only explanation we can give for the irresolute and vacillating conduct of the Democratic lead ers in the last presidential contest.

> > The Hour of Danger.

At this time, when newly-made citizens are about entering on the discharge of their duties to their country, and the exercise of their prerogatives as freemen, we take the liberty of offering a few hints and suggestions, which, if heeded, will serve to render the rights recently and heart-burnings to creep in and distract granted to us more secure, and make them more fruitful of the blessings they were intended to ply because the leader selected does not happen

We start out, then, with the proposition, that all men are political equals, and, as such, each is the peer of the other, and each may share equally with the other in selecting their rulers, and thereby aid in shaping the policy of their common country.

Let us see, then, what influences, it is likely, will be brought to bear on the newly-enfran chised, in order to render the victory of their friends and themselves nugatory, or of little effect. Let us, also, strive to point out the way by which the efforts of our enemies may be

We believe there is none among us who thinks, that, because we have many friends, we are without enemies : and if there be such, they will be shortly undeceived, when they witness the Machiavelian efforts which will be put forth by those who have always been, and always will be, opposed to the negro's advancement in any direction, unless it be, perhaps, as a better developed and more efficient "field-hand." Such enemies certainly do exist in great numbers, and will, we can assure you, leave no effort untried to seduce us from our allegiance to the great party and principles of progress and absolute freedom. It is impossible for us to state at this time, all the means which will be used by our enemies to bring about the result which they so ardently desire; but of this we feel as certain as we can feel of anything in the future, that money in large quantities will be used to tempt the cupidity of both the leaders and the rank and file of the colored Republicans. The seeds of dissension will also be sown broadcast among the party, in order to render the followers dissatisfied with their leaders. They will try, by every means in their power, to bring about disaffection in the ranks of the Republican party, both white and colored, in the hope of distracting their counsels, impairing their unity, and thereby drawing from their ranks, and also from their leadership, the dissatisfied portion of the party, to unite with them, and assist them in nullifying the blessings for which we and our friends fought and bled, and for which so many of our brethren died. These things, a: I more, will be attempted; but God forbid the should be accomplished. As I remarked before, we are the political

own liberties; and if we are only true to our selves, and to the instincts of freedom, no apprehensions of the ultimate results need be enertained But if we are careless, indifferent or lukewarm, we throw open to our enemies the their place; that is, the place in which they can be most useful to their fellows, and to be capacity and acquirements fit them; and not from a lack of education, or from a natural incapacity, of occupying with honor to themselves, or with credit to those whom they seek to represent. That is too much the case with the colored people of the United States, and is making itself more and more apparent as the our State is undoubted. Motives to separate time draws near for them to choose their leaders through the medium of the ballot-box.

equals of all men, and the custodians of our

There are too many among us aspiring to be leaders, who do not possess the necessary qualifications for such responsible positions. herents, and when the people in their wisdom, diate their claims and pretensions, they, (the

formed, and the strength of the party divided. The breach thus formed is widened by the coolness of one faction to the other, or by crimination and recrimination, and then it is that the enemy, seeing our distracted condition, for which he has all along been hoping and looking, will step in as did one of Old into the Garden of Eden, and try by his specious pleading, and deceitful words, to make the disaffected believe that they are entirely too "smart' to be anything but leaders in any party. They will also promise (for that will be a part of their tactics) that if such will only vote with them reached the ear of their chief magistrate, and there should be places of honor and profit given to them, and they will try to make us believe that they, and they alone, were always friends of the negro. If they can by these or any other means induce any, whether few or many, to vote and act with them, they will, after they have used the negro, and by his help obtained the power which they now so much covet. treat him as a Piriah, or, what is still worse, will rivet the bonds of proscription on him more tightly, and make his chains more galling than ever they were in the days of the

> old slave lords. The deceitful means above mentioned, with the additional one of a free use of money. which with some we are afraid will have the same effect as had the poisoned cup of Circe upon men, will be used to bring about this result; but how far they will be allowed to succeed in their nefarious designs and infernal machinations, rests entirely with us. We should unite our forces, bury all animosities which have been or may be engendered from whatever cause, and especially from political causes. Let us present a bold and united front to the enemy, and spurn all his attempts loathing they so richly merit.

> The one and only way by which these evils can be averted, is for the colored people, when the time comes, to march up to the polls and deposit their ballots for the nominees of the Republican party, without stopping to scratch tickets. So long as it is assured, that we are voting for those who were regularly nominated by the party according to the regular usages, and if by so doing we may, in some instances. aid in the elevation of those who are not entirely worthy, still we will have the consciousness that we have exercised our prerogative, and contributed, so far as our vote and influence could do so, to the dissemination and advancement of correct principles.

> So, then, our advice to those who are now about to assume their new relations to their country, and before the world, is to choose for yourselves such leaders of your political organizations as are fitted by their capacity, character, and culture to be your leaders, and follow them as long as they are worthy of being followed: and when not, select others in whom you have confidence; and in no case allow jealousies your counsels and impair your usefulness, simto be your first choice, but give him your undivided support; and when the time for voting oomes, prove to the world by your votes, that you intend to carry out, as far as in you lies, the grand idea of the immortal Lincoln. The nation, under God, shall then have a new

birth of freedom, through the Government of the people, by the people, and for the people.' So will you have done your duty, confounded your enemies, and demonstrated to your friends and to the world, that the elective franchise has been worthily bestowed and highly appreciated.

## Texas Land.

BY MISS C While in Austin, last winter, I was exceed

ingly interested in the provisions of the constition made in the interest of the colored people The wisdom of that convention in setting aside all the available resources of that State to this high consideration cannot now be too highly commended. It will be seen by the constitution just adopted, that section eight of article ten donates one hundred and sixty acres to the andless for homesteads; section seven declares all railroad grants not alienated in conformity to law, forfeited to the State for the benefit of the school fund; section six inhibits the Legislature from granting any lands to any person or persons, except to actual settlers, in lots of one hundred and sixty acres; section two provides for ascertaining the residue of vacant lands. Article nine provides for a common school system upon a liberal scale; section six provides that all funds, lands, or other property heretofore set apart and appropriated, or that may be hereafter set apart, shall constitute a school fund, and all sums of money from the sale of the public domain, and one-fourth of the annual revenue, together with a poll-tax of one dollar on every male between the ages of twentyone and sixty. The thirty third section of article twelve contains the much-slandered ab initio principle carried through (though some what encumbered) by Governor Davis against the monopolists of Texas, and in the face of the unprovoked obloquy poured upon it by its foremost opponent and the two papers of Austin. The purpose of this provision in the constitution of '69 is to annul the general law of Texas granting sixteen sections to roads, and to forfeit all lands granted to the completed sections of roads, and so preserve the lands not vet alienated according to the laws; also, to compel the restoration of the lands and uses of money subsaving vested rights and private loyal persons, approaches to the citadel of our liberties, and the ab initio clauses in the constitution of '69 become recreant to, and destroyers of, ourselves. declare null. The policy of the convention of One of the hardest lessons, if not the very | '69 was to clear away all rebel laws, including, ton government in '66, so as to leave the residue of the public lands, an absolutely prosatisfied to fill the place for which their peculiar | hibiting the Legislature from granting lands to any person or persons, except as homesteads to to aspire to places which they are incapable, the landless, and by sales of lots of one hundred and sixty acres to actual settlers, setting aside the public domain, and all lands, property. and money, as a permanent fund for education of the colored children and homes for the now landless freedmen and to encourage the growth of settlers.

it may be proper to state that the Texas constitution of '45 provided a portion of the annual tax as a permanent fund for her then common school system, and the legislature from time to time donated large grants of public lands, and upon the sale of the Santa-Fe lands in 1850. some millions were appropriated for the same object, and are part of what is known as Texas these bonds were loaned to railroads in amounts One would think, to hear the tone of many would be leaders, and their few followers) in- not exceeding \$6000 per mile as the same

\$2.50 a year in advance 5 Copies for \$10. the purpose of the provision in the Constitu tion of '69, is to annul the general law of Tex as, granting 16 sections to roads, and to forfeit

all the lands granted to the completed section

of roads, and to preserve the lands not ve

alienated according to law, also to compel the restoration of the lands-and all grants of lands, and uses of money subsequent to the ordinance of secession, &c., as we have seen, it the interest of our advancing civilization. Now it is plain that the constitution of Texas forfeits all railroad grants, and inhibits all fu ture grants to persons-a railroad corporation being a person-and sets apart these lands as a school fund, and for homesteads for the landless colored people: and yet, Mr. Editor, there are men in the national Capitol to-day, the professed friends of your race, who are doing their utmost to form combinations of capitalists

strong enough to buy up the legislature of Texas, and to deprive the poor of their magnificent school fund, and parcel it out among the schemers. What care they for colored constituents whose only hope for a homestead, and only claim for a school fund adequate to the education of their offspring is in the public domain? The policy of Gov. Davis, forfeiting all the land and school fund grants of the rebel legislatures for the benefit of education and homesteads for the landless, is to-day seriously endangered. Knowing Gov. Davis, I can confidently assert that he will stand firmly by his ab initio principles; but the monopolists, and faithless friends of your race are marshaling their forces by money and bogus stocks to storm great errors. And what would any rational the legislature of Texas, and to impress on the incoming government of that great State, that the inhibition of land grants to person or persons, don't mean to inhibit grants to corporations-that is, that a railroad corporation not a person!

The monopolists have already convinced Texans in Washington, that this is the proper interpretation to be put upon the provision in the Constitution-or perhaps such men rashly rush to this conclusion, that they can shape legislation upon the internal improvement policy of Texas, without knowing that the Constitution contains these provisions. The danger to Texas is imminent. You cannot over-estimate the evil a combination of monopolists may now entail upon her. Unfortunately, there are these in every Legislature.

Susceptible to such influences, whether it be secure the revival of an obsolete defunct railroad charter or a term in the United States Senate; and who, therefore, would not scruple to sacrifice your race, or the country itself, and Congress needs constantiv to be on their guard. It is especially important that Texas now be wakeful. She is, as it were, a new State. Most of her public men are young and inexperienced. The influence of capital is potential. The arts of the lobbvists are said to be insidious, and to an unpractised Legislature, irresistible. The education of several hundred thousand colored children is at issue : and let the colored men of the nation see to it, that their rights in this are not infringed in Texas.

It is alarming when one hears that Texans. whom the colored men have trusted with their confidence, allured by the prospect of personal gain, are willingly or unwillingly preparing to surrender the public domain in the interest of defunct obsolete railroad grants and other monopolies, and under the transparent pretext of developing the resources of the State, and making the colored people happier and educating their dear children, are absolutely combining with monopolies of all sorts to debar the colored people of their constitutional rights in that State. Texas ought not to be cheated now politically and financially. This treachery to colored constituencies, I hope you, Mr. Editor, will properly expose.

# The Citizenship of Colored Men.

BY GEO. B. VASHON.

Many persons seem to labor under the pression, that the citizenship of colored men in the United States, dates back only to the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment, in 1866. when, in fact, that right of theirs is as old as the republic itself. The opinion of Attorney General Bates, upon that subject, submitted in 1863, justifies the assertion above made; and in order to prove that this opinion was based upon right grounds, we reproduce now an argument written more than a quarter of a century ago, shortly after the Legislature of Pennsylvania had cruelly deprived the colored citizens of that State of the elective franchise consecrated, as it had then been, by their enjoyment of it for upwards of sixty years. Here is the

our citizenship, that no mention is made of us. as citizens, in the Federal Constitution, or in the laws of Congress. This is in part untrue ; yet how low the feeling that prompted it, and how unbecoming an American bosom! Did the fathers of our political institutions ever dream, that the sword of flame which guards the precincts of our national Eden would be turned against some of its appointed guardians? Did they ever think, that the instrument by which they sought to secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity would be converted into a warrant to consign hundreds of thousands of the people of the United States | vention that drafted the Federal Constitution to a most degrading vassalage? There is not declared, that, "As certainly as the children a single article or section of that document, of any white man are citizens, so certainly the torture it as our enemies may, that can be brought to militate against our claims, any addition to these, we might cite the opinions more than against those of any other class of American freemen. The implied principle of in this country, and are looked up to as oracles the Constitution is the truth expressed in the in all great political and constitutional ques-Declaration of Independence, that "All men tions. are created equal." A number of the persons who signed the one document, assisted in the ored freemen were citizens under the Confedframing of the other. A period of eleven years, eration, as can be shown by reference to the seven of which they had seen spent in a san- debates of the old Congress. The present Contruth, certainly did not have the miraculous federation did not deprive them of their rights. power of transforming that truth into a lie. And could they, holding that truth in its pu- Constitution, have regarded them as possessed rity, and endued with no common degree of of those rights; and State Legislatures, and statesmanlike wisdom, be expected to descend statesmen eminent for their talents, have rewith puerile particularity to an enumeration of peatedly endorsed the fact, that we are citizens the various species of the human family, and of the United States. Surely, in view of all with finger pointed to each, declare, that they these proofs, our claims to citizenship must be also were entitled to "life, liberty, and the regarded as indisputable. pursuit of happiness;" and had the right to establish governments for the securing of these blessings? And admitting that the laws of Congress do not, directly or indirectly, state that we are citizens, was it necessary, (since we hold our lights by the Constitution,) to employ men at eight dollars, per diem, merely to append codicils, bequeathing legacies, which had already been granted by the original Testament. But the objector says, that, colored persons

could not have been regarded as citizens, because, at the adoption of the Constitution. To understand the sense of these provisions slavery existed in all of the States, with but one exception. But how could this fact affect the claims of free colored persons any more than it could those of white persons? Before the abolition of slavery in the British West In- west of Chesapeake Bay; West Florida to dies, colored freemen enjoyed all the rights and privileges that appertained to the citizens of were appendages to the crown of Great Britain, white persons were frequently sold and held indemnity bonds-by subsequent legislation in slavery; yet that did not affect the rights of the other residents of the colonies. And if every link in the republican chain had been not exceeding \$6000 per mile as the same tarnished by oppressien, still, that would not were completed, and donating at the same time have invalidated the claims of colored freemen. we conclude, that, while everyone of the thirteen original States tolerated slavery, the govacknowledgment of these great fundamental Representatives meeting our views at once; fly off at a tangent; a faction is thus or a portion of them within ten years. Now ernment then existing, virtually passed a di-

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rect recognition of the citizenship of free colored persons.

It is again objected, that the first clause of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution presents an insurmountable ob stacle to the recognition of colored citizens. To this we could not, nor would we wish to offer a better reply than the opinion of Chancelor Kent. It is this, that, if citizens "remove from one State to another, they are entitled to the privileges that persons of the same description are entitled to in the State to which renoval is made, and to none other." And the very case he cites in illustration goes to confirm our claims; for he proceeds to state-"If therefore, free persons of color are not entitled to vote in Carolina, free persons of color emigrating there from a Northern State would not oe entitled to vote.

Another objection has been urged to the effect, that, as our naturalization laws provide only for the admission of white foreigners to the privileges of citizenship, there would be a manifest incongruity in our political arrangement. For, by those arrangements, an infant whose parents were citizens would be received as a member of the social compact, whilst a man would be forever rejected on the ground of his being an alien. And upon a comparison of the services which each of these might be expected to render, it is evident that such a policy would be utterly opposed to anything like wisdom or justice. But, we are not aware that our legislators claim to themselves infallibility; and we certainly know that statesmen of undoubted talents have frequently fallen into man say of that policy which would seek to conceal a blunder by sacrificing the rights of thousands: and that, too, when more liberal and more just enactments would effect the same purpose, in a manner far more wise and per

Various other objections have been brought forward; but they are so frivolous, and so strongly tinctured with vulgarity, that they are unworthy of the slightest notice. Leaving them to that silence which they so richly deserve, we shall now proceed to the establishing of the proposition, that free colored persons were citizens of the United States prior to the year 1789, and that, as they were not declared to be otherwise by the Constitution then adopted, they are citizens still. To substantiate this, let us refer to the debates which took place in the Continental Congress, during the framing of the Articles of Confederation On the 30th of October, 1777, while the motion with regard to the manner of adording the articles was pending, an amendment was proposed for the purpose of excluding colored persons from taking part in that adoption. The delegates from Virginia were the only ones who voted in favor of it; and they were afterwards instructed to vote for the articles as they stood. And again ;-on the 13th of the following month, the fourth article of the confederation was proposed. It read as follows:

The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different States in the Union, the free inhabitants of each of these States, paupers. vagabonds, and fugitives from justice excepted shall be entitled to all the privileges and im-

munities of free citizens in the several States The delegates from South Carolina, moved that the article should be amended by the insertion of the word "white," before "inhabi tants." This motion was lost; and the article was then adopted by a unanimous vote. Here. then, were two recognitions of colored persons as citizens, within fourteen days of each other. by the assembled representatives of the Union. This is proof positive that colored freemen enjoyed citizenship under the old Confederation. Where is the article in the present Constitution that can be brought forward as a denial of our claims? And in the absence of any such denial, what is more clear than the corollary that, we are citizens still?

Furthermore, we cannot only deduce this

fact in the manner in which we have done it: but we can also substantiate it by the accordant testimony of the best and highest authori ties in the land. We can even refer for proof to those congressional laws which, our enemies aver, to be silent upon the subject. Look at the act of Congress of 1803, "to prevent the importation of certain persons into certain States," &c. The words of that act are, that masters of vessels shall not import into those States, "any negró, mulatto, or other person of color, not being a native, a citizen, or registered seaman of the United States." And that act was passed at the instance of Alexander strumental in drawing up the Constitution ; and not, that instrument had branded us as aliens. Look again at the conditions imposed by Con gress upon Missouri, when that State applied for admission into the Union, with a clause in its constitution prohibiting free colored persons from settling within its limits. Look at various other enactments of Congress containing either direct or indirect recognitions of our citizenship; and who will then deny that, by that body at least, we have been regarded as

The laws of many of the States also adduce evidence in favor of our rights. In the statute several of the other commonwealths, there are express acknowledgments of the fact, that colored persons are citizens. In a number of the States they enjoy the privilege of the elective franchise; and in all they are in possession of rights which do not pertain to any other class

of persons, except citizens. In proof of the justness of our claims we can adduce still farther testimony. We have already adverted to the sentiments of Chancel lor Kent upon this subject. We have also noticed the opinion of Alexander Hamilton And Rufus King, another member of the Conand savings of many others who have stood high

Let us now briefly review our position. Colself-evident stitution that supplanted t The enactments of Congresses held under that

STATE DIVISIONS .- The mania for State division has crossed the Mississippi, and a bill has been introduced into the Missouri Legislature for separating the State into two parts, with the Missouri River as the boundary. So far as heard from these new projects in political geography are as follows: New York to be divided into two parts, of which one is to include Manhattan and Long Islands, with such other small fry as Staten Island thrown in, and the other part what remains of the State; New Jersey to be so divided that the northern part may be "annexed" to New York: Pennsylvania to be subdivided; Delaware to be pieced out with the fragments of Maryland and Virginia lying set off to Alabama; Tennessee to be bisected Texas to be trisected : Wisconsin and Michigan those colonies. While the States of this Union | each to yield up its northern portions to form the new State of Ontonagon or Superior : Mis souri, as we have said to be broken in twain. All these propositions have been seriously advocated, and some are in train of fulfillment The mapmakers, at least, will not complain.

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